extreme tension with Germany that America was too proud to fight. But his mind was already travelling far beyond the task of keeping his sword in the scabbard to the larger problem of building a'new international order. Here was no ordinary conflict of nation against nation. Almost the whole world was involved in the struggle, and the fortunes of civilisation were at stake. It was the bankruptcy of a system, die *reduttto ad absurdum* of the doctrine of unfettered nationalism. In the name of security sovereign states had piled up armaments and pursued their selfish aims without thought of co-operation: now they were blowing each other to pieces with the latest scientific devilries and turning Europe into a heap of ashes. It was the writing on the wall, which the panting combatants were too busy to read. Wilson read it and proclaimed the lesson to his people and the world.

At the end of 1916 the President invited the belligerents to state the terms on which they would be willing to make peace. After receiving, their replies he described to the Senate in January 19^17 his own vision of a settlement which would not only end the carnage but might avert its recurrence. The settlement, when it came, must win the approval of mankind, and not merely serve the several interests and immedkte aims of the nations engaged. " The question upon which the whole future peace and policy of the world depends is this : Is the present war a struggle for a just and secure peace or only for a new balance of power ? Only a tranquil Europe can be a stable Europe. There must be, not a balance of power, but a community of power; not organised rivalries but an organized common peace. First of all it must be a peace without victory. Victory would mean peace forced upon the loser, a victor's terms imposed upon the vanquished. It would be accepted in humiliation, under duress, as intolerable

sacrifice, and would leave a sting, a resentment, a bitter memory upon which terms of peace would rest, not permanently, but only as upon quicksands. Only a peace Tbetween equals can last—only a peace the very principle of which is equality and a common participation in a common benefit. The equality of nations upon which peace must be founded, if it is to last, must be an equality of rights; the guarantees exchanged must neither recognize nor imply a difference between big nations and small, between those that are powerful and those that are weak. Mankind is looking now for freedom of life, not for equipoises of power. And there is a deeper thing involved than even